

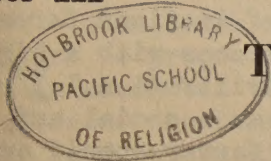
"To promote Christian ideals for agriculture and rural life; to interpret the spiritual and religious values which inhere in the processes of agriculture and the relationships of rural life; to magnify and dignify the rural church; to provide a means of fellowship and cooperation among rural agencies: *Toward a Christian Rural Civilization.*"

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The Social Values of Land Ownership*

By Joseph Ackerman

It is fitting and proper that church leaders give attention to the question of land ownership. Church literature has many references to the land and to its ownership. All of us live from the land; more than two-thirds of the people of the world derive their livelihood by working directly upon it. This is sufficient reason why the church should concern itself with farm ownership and the kind of relationships that exist between people connected with the land.

There are some who say that the function of the church is to direct people to God and to one another and that it should be concerned only with the spiritual welfare of people. Others maintain that the church should do much more. Eugene Smathers, for example, says:

"All of us will agree that one of the primary tasks of any church program is to provide opportunity for the leadership in the corporate worship of God. I do not propose to offer any detailed suggestions as to techniques by which the rural church may become more fruitful as a 'community of worship,' but I do want to make a suggestion regarding the content of our rural public worship. Our worship should 'impart a significance to the daily round.' The concerns of our common life need to be brought into the sanctuary and lifted into the light of the eternal purposes of God. Worship should 'consecrate and illuminate with meaning the relations of family and neighborhood, recreation and friendship, and the various interests of common life.' Not merely individual religious living, but all the concerns of community living have a place in the content of our services of worship. The religious life revolves around two centers: worship and work. Work without worship is blind and worship without work is empty." 1/

More specifically, Professor Lowry Nelson said:

"The relationship of people to land sets the stage for the generation of an infinite number of social problems. The history of rural peoples of the world, and a cross-section view of contemporary rural life, bears out this state-

Eugene Smathers, "A Rural Church Program that Makes Religion the Qualifying Factor in Every Experience of Life," The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 66, New York, November, 1941, p. 3.

* This paper was presented at the International Conference on the Church and Land Tenure, New York City, May 14. Dr. Ackerman is Associate Director, Farm Foundation, Chicago. This paper will appear in the printed report of the Conference and all rights are reserved to the author.

ment. The maladjustment of people to the land propagates a low standard of living, inadequate social institutions (including the church), and in the long run is bound to express itself in political upheaval. On the other hand, a proper adjustment of people to land, brings about desirable social results." 2/

If you, as church leaders, are to have an effective part in moulding the lives of rural people, you must be concerned with their day to day problems. You must be concerned with their wants and their desires, with their attitudes and traditions. This includes ownership of land, which has long been the cherished goal of American farmers. "Most of us still believe that the family-owned farm possessed by persons with a high degree of physical, mental, and moral worth is the cornerstone of civilization." 3/ The public policy in the United States has long favored the family farm as a social and economic unit. Since colonial times the policy has been that every farmer should own the land he operates. Land is "the key to freedom, the outlet for labor, and the visible symbol of wealth." 4/ Hundreds of thousands of Europeans came to the United States during the nineteenth century because of their desire for land and for ownership.

Reference to ownership is found in many church pronouncements. God created the earth for mankind, and

"Man's natural right to own property is also based upon man's need for ownership. St. Thomas Aquinas states that private property is 'necessary for human life.' Man under present conditions of human society needs property to provide the necessities of life for himself and for his family, to live as a free man and to achieve for himself and for his family the destiny, temporal and eternal, the Creator has intended for him. Without the right and opportunity to own property, generally speaking, man is not free; he cannot provide the necessities of life for himself and his family; he cannot properly develop his personality nor procure for his offspring the opportunity to develop the potentialities with which they are endowed.... Since man needs property to attain to the status of a free man, to develop his personality, and to provide for his family, it follows that an economic system to be equitable must provide opportunity for the masses to become owners." 5/

Leo XIII also pointed out that stability of society requires widespread ownership. He has said, "The law, therefore, should favor ownership and its policy should be to induce as many people as possible to become owners." 6/ He also said:

"Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own; nay, they learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those dear to them. It is evident how such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community." 7/

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- 2/ Lowry Nelson, Discussion on the paper "Tenure Problems and Research Needs," Journal of Farm Economics, Vol. 19, No. 1 (February 1, 1937), p. 139.
 - 3/ Grace E. Freisinger, Presidential Address, "Conservation of Human Resources", Proceedings of the Twentieth American Country Life Conference, 1939, p. 15.
 - 4/ Murray R. Benedict, "Farm People and the Land After the War," National Planning Association, Washington, D. C., Planning Pamphlet No. 28, 1943, p. 1.
 - 5/ National Catholic Rural Life Conference, "Manifesto on Rural Life," Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939, pp. 8-10.
 - 6/ Leo XIII "Conditions of Labor," p. 26.
 - 7/ National Catholic Rural Life Conference, "Manifesto on Rural Life," Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939, p. 11.

Frequently it has been said that:

"The individual who has a stake in the land has an excellent anchorage, a sense of security and stability that cannot but redound to the welfare of his family and of the community. The premises that are owned gradually become a shrine of memories serving to bind the family members together with powerful psychological ties." 8/

Adam Smith maintains that the "work done by slaves is the dearest of any in the world." 9/ He proposes the thesis that the person who acquires no property can have no other interest but to eat as much and to work as little as possible. He points out that the operator can have no interest in improving the land because the owner, even though he has laid out nothing gets a share of whatever is produced.

Importance of Land Ownership

If we are to have a full understanding of the place of ownership in our tenure pattern, we need to know its relationship to the economic, social and political institutions. Mr. Ihrig from Hungary stated the concept as follows: "The framework of land policy is to some extent determined by economic and social conditions which we cannot alter from one day to the other." 10/ The long-time tenure policy, however, will be conditioned by all these factors and any program that is developed must take them into account. In the United States the forces that influence land tenure are not new or different from those which are found in European economy. Agriculture is a part of the dynamic state. It is constantly evolving and changing, and if we have an understanding of the various forms which exist, the circumstances under which they have operated, and the effects they have produced, we will be in a much better position to think through the kind of a long-time program we would like to have in the United States. 11/

Improving Tenure Policy

In trying to set up desirable goals for improvements in the United States, it is well to profit by the experience of older countries. The effects of their land policies on social, economic, and political institutions provides a basis of appraising the problems that now exist. It is impossible, because of vested interests and individual rights, to develop a policy of improvement which is acceptable to all people. As Mr. Kelso emphasizes, however:

"It is important that we have full knowledge of causes and trends if we are to predict changes or have a hand in altering the factors of the socio-economic environment in order to secure a more desirable tenure system. If our objective is to decrease tenancy in the Corn Belt or to increase the standard of living of the cropper or to aid mortgaged owners through their trying period of debt, we must understand the content and interaction of forces which produce these phenomena so that we may know where to introduce changes in the tenure pattern." 12/

1/ National Catholic Rural Life Conference, "Manifesto on Rural Life," Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939, p. 11.

2/ Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Chapter on "The Strength of Agriculture in the Ancient State of Europe."

3/ C. Ihrig, Discussion of Ashby's "The Relation of Land Tenure to the Economic and Social Development of Agriculture," Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 122.

4/ Adapted from V. Liversage, Agricultural Economist, Kenya, Land Tenure in the Colonies, Cambridge University Press, 1945.

5/ M. M. Kelso, "A Critique of Land Tenure Research," The Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1934, p. 393.

If we want a stable population of agriculture, farming must be made attractive, both as business and as a way of life. Since the world's resources are limited and are not equably distributed, it is essential that we make extensive use of farm land, labor, and capital.

The land tenure problems are not static unless there are no social changes. A Mr. Ashby so aptly stated:

"A country which has settled and begun to cultivate all its land and has covered it with occupying-owners must either arrange that the number of births is proportionate to the existing number of farms, or begin the process of reducing the size of farms, or that of producing on one side a privileged class of owners of land and on the other side a class of landless workers. The sole alternative is the industrial transfer, generally with geographical migration, of any excess population." 13/

In trying to find the place of ownership in our land tenure pattern we must make a forward-looking plan, bearing in mind that agriculture in the United States is no longer done by pioneer farmers and that the institutions, customs, and traditions suited to one period may not be desirable in a more developed and complex society. Consideration must be given to the kind of farm life we wish to foster and the practical limitations of the attainment of this desired end.

The thought frequently expressed is that national progress and prosperity can be promoted most effectively by private ownership of farm land.

"The family-type farm should remain the basis on which American agriculture typically is organized. Although there is no reason to standardize all farms, because of differences in agricultural requirements and in the managerial abilities of farmers, the best interest of the country will be served when a majority of farms are of a type on which the operator, with the help of his family and perhaps a moderate amount of outside labor, can make a satisfactory living and maintain the farm's productivity and assets." 14/

The adoption of a national policy to establish family farms does not mean that conditions of tenure will be satisfactory on all owner-operated farms. Far from it. The owner-operated family farm is not an end in our agricultural policy. However, it is a means by which we hope to improve the welfare of the people on the land.

Farm Ownership in Agricultural Policy

What are the criteria by which we can judge the adequacy of the owner-operated farm? What measures can we use to contrast it with other arrangements? How can we evaluate the conditions under which farm families occupy and use the land? These were some of the questions discussed at a meeting of rural economists, sociologists, churchmen, and others, who were invited to come together in Chicago last February to consider the place of the family farm in United States land policy. Various criteria by which we may judge a given tenure situation were presented, and I want to pass them on to you:

1. Income to the farm family should be adequate to maintain an acceptable level of living, and should be relatively stable from year to year.

13/ A. W. Ashby, "The Relations of Land Tenure to the Economic and Social Development of Agriculture," Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Oxford University Press, London, 1939, p. 101.

14/ Committee on Postwar Agricultural Policy, Postwar Agricultural Policy, Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, October 1944, p. 30.

2. Conditions of labor and level of living of the farm family should be comparable with other occupational groups.
3. Food, fiber and vegetable oils required by the nation for domestic use and export trade should be produced efficiently, and production should be in line with need.
4. Farms should be of the most efficient size, should have command of sufficient resources, and should not harbor unneeded labor.
5. Full development and conservational use of both human and physical resources should be fostered -- the land should be improved from year to year rather than eroded and denuded, and the farm family should find it possible to develop individual skills and abilities and a wholesome attitude toward domestic and international problems.
6. An opportunity and incentive to farm well and to make improvements should be provided, for the farmer should receive the benefits of superior farming and improvements made by him and he should be encouraged to keep abreast of a rapidly changing technology.
7. A person with the necessary training and experience should not be barred from farming because of lack of capital, and capital accumulations should not be attained at the expense of family living.
8. Unearned increment and decrement, which results in speculation, excessive land values and over-mortgaging, should be avoided, and competition for farms and homes should not drive investment in farm real estate out of proportion to productive values.
9. Competent farmers should be assured reasonable security of tenure in the possession of their rights in land.
10. Wholesome, well-integrated and stable communities should result, and leisure time should be adequate and used effectively; these cannot be attained in the absence of satisfying family life.
11. Institutions and processes should be established and perpetuated which reduce to a minimum class or caste tension by recognizing equality of all tenure groups, dignity of labor, and responsibility of personal freedom.
12. Democratic values should be fostered through participation in public affairs, development of balanced economic views, and a keen understanding of current political issues.

The thought expressed again and again at the conference held in Chicago was that the family owner-operated farm comes closer to measuring up to these standards than any other type of tenancy we have in this country. In considering improvements that might be made, it was pointed out that accurate attention always needs to be given to price policies. The general level of economic opportunity is a determining factor in tenancy conditions because desirable tenancy relationships are extremely difficult to attain during periods of unemployment and declining national income. During periods of full employment, higher incomes of all employees help to keep the returns to agricultural labor on a

level more comparable with urban wages. The free flow of people from rural to urban areas should provide an opportunity to revamp uneconomic units into more productive ones. It has been suggested that more opportunity for urban employment will force several hundred thousand low income or marginal farms out of existence. These lands would be absorbed within the boundaries of the more productive farms or revert to grazing or nonagricultural uses.

In spite of our national goal directed to the attainment of home ownership, farmers are gradually losing ownership of the land. The situation is briefly but effectively stated in the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, as follows:

"For the past 55 years, the entire period for which we have statistics on land tenure, there has been a continuous and marked decrease in the proportion of operating owners and an accompanying increase in the proportion of tenants. Tenancy has increased from 25 per cent of all farmers in 1880 to 42 per cent in 1935. Because of debt the actual equity of operating owners is far less than these figures indicate. In some of our States, among them a number settled under the homestead system little more than a generation ago, it is estimated that the equity of operating farmers in their lands is little more than one-fifth. Nearly four-fifths is in the hands of landlords and mortgage holders. Thus, hundreds of thousands of farm families have attained only a semblance of ownership." 15/

Fundamental Social Values

With this background, let us consider the question of why the church is interested in promoting land ownership. Ownership of land does have distinct social values. When Mr. Benson was pointing out the values of a self-earned farm, he named the following:

- "1. Pride of ownership through self-expression and just possession.
2. Training in the educational processes of earning their own.
3. Pleasure and companionship in the pursuit of their 'dream farm.'
4. A practical knowledge of the value of the farm-home in terms of self-earned dollars.
5. A deeper and far better heart interest in the home, a heritage of love for the old home to transmit to the children who with parents have had a definite part in planning, building, and the lifting of a burdensome mortgage.
6. The feeling of personal responsibility for the well-being of community and its institutions of culture, recreation and spiritual growth.
7. Improved soil fertility, better kept buildings and fences, and a definite improvement of equipment and livestock.
8. A greater feeling of security in the more permanent residence on the self-earned farm-home." 16/

These and many other characteristics cherished in our American way of life are derived by having ownership of a home on the land.

15/ Farm Tenancy Report of the President's Committee, prepared under the auspices of the National Resources Planning Board, Washington, February 1939, p. 3.

16/ O. H. Benson, "Starting Young Men in Farm Ownership," Rural America, October 1939, p. 9.

Prestige and Pride. Land ownership gives prestige and pride to the individual. As Professor Hocking pointed out:

"Whatever a man completely owns, whether it be a whole farm or but a single tool or animal, it is that bit of property which most completely reflects the kind of man he is . . . he enjoys the privileges of rulership and learns by experience what kind of ruler he would make! This is an invaluable experience for a democracy . . . everyman's bit of private property, be it large or small, is his special field for gaining experience in the use of authority. It furnishes apprenticeship in responsibility. It is for this reason that the farm, as an actual domain, has been so significant a training ground for our democracy." 17/

Most individuals want to own property. It gives them a certain satisfaction in a life which they cannot secure under any other means. It makes them do a better job of farming and become better citizens if they have pride in the work that they are doing.

Security. Ownership provides security in occupancy and for old age. If one owns the farm, relatively free of indebtedness, it will provide an income for his old age. Many work and even deprive themselves to have a comfortable living during their old age. Ownership is one means of saving, a means of living when one can no longer work.

A study made by Mr. Roberts reports the following:

"As a result of studies of rural family life in Virginia with special emphasis on the Negro family, the writer has been greatly impressed by the role that home ownership and occupational status play in the security, stability, freedom, and independence of family life. . . . The characteristics of family life vary quantitatively and qualitatively with occupational status and with property or non-property ownership. Though many owners are economically no better off than many non-owners, yet . . . owners in the composite show a fundamentally superior position to that of non-owners. This ownership status tends to provide the material conditions for a free, secure and purposeful life -- a life directed along self-chosen paths towards self-chosen goals. There tends to be associated with ownership more income, stability, independence, security -- economic, social, and physical -- more pride and sense of personal worth, more initiative, more foresight, a larger sense of social responsibility, and a greater scope for the active expression and normal development of personality. Owners have the experience of assuming full responsibility of self-maintenance for themselves and families, of doing their own thinking and planning and of shouldering the consequences of their actions. These qualities developed in the parents tend, by association and teaching in daily life, to be passed on to their children." 18/

Family Unity. Agriculture is credited with providing the best environment for more stable family living. In the Catholic concept:

"The farm home is inseparable from the ownership of the land. . . . For

7/ William E. Hocking, "A Philosophy of Life for the American Farmer (and others)," *Farmers in a Changing World*, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, p. 1064.

8/ Harry W. Roberts, "Effects of Farm Ownership on Rural Family Life," *Social Forces*, Vol. 24, December 1945, pp. 185-194.

this reason we look upon farming as a way of life inseparably associated with the family-sized farm held, when possible, in fee-simple and we are in earnest sympathy with any efforts or measures to make distributed ownership possible, as opposed to tenancy and its correlative, the huge industrialized farm, absentee landlordship or the purely speculative use of land which I personally (says Reverend John LaFarge) consider to be the distinctly Anglo-Saxon failing. The German Lutherans of Pennsylvania, or the Portuguese farmers of Rhode Island and Southern Massachusetts, with their insistence upon family farms and stable ownership approach much more to the Catholic concept of the use of the land than does, for instance a Catholic real-estate man who accommodates himself to the prevailing Anglo-Saxon philosophy." 19/

Mr. Gwinn believes that:

" . . . there is no sound relation between people and the land except through the farm homestead. That is a farm home that is owner-operated. It has continuity of ownership and family pride and tradition running all through its history. Succeeding generations pay their debts to those gone before by improving and enriching the soil for those to come. It is or has been started by a family of highest cultural ambitions. It passes down from generation to generation in the same family line. Some time after the children have all reached adulthood, there might be a solemn family conference in which would be determined, on the basis of merit, the son or daughter who shall have the high privilege of buying or succeeding to the homestead, making it his home and operating the farm. It is no longer property in the ordinary sense. It is something more. It seldom enters the realm of barter and trade. It is not for sale." 20/

To again quote Mr. Roberts who made the study of Virginia Negroes,

"Although there is no such thing as absolute freedom, security, and independence, these characteristics in rural family life are functions of land and home ownership. Conversely, family instability, insecurity, dependency and lack of freedom are functions of non-ownership. This insecurity has great social significance for the entire social order — for the families as units, for the personalities that compose them, and for all the institutions of society. Its importance in the life of an individual or group is suggested by the claim of the student of history that civilization began only when men achieved a settled life." 21/

Community Development. Owner-operators as a general rule make better citizens of the community. Good communities are dependent upon stable families remaining

19/ Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., "Agriculture as a Way of Life," The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, New York, No. 27 - 2, December 1937, p. 2.

20/ Ralph W. Gwinn, "Is There a Relation Between the Quality of People and the Quality of the Land on Which They Live?" The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, New York, No. 29, February 1938, p. 4.

21/ Harry W. Roberts, loc. cit.

thin the community. As Kolb and Brunner report in their Study of Rural Society:

"In tenant dominated communities all types of social organizations tend to be weaker and less progressive than in localities in which owners preponderate. One obvious reason for this lies in the insecurity of the renter's tenure. . . . He hesitates to form ties until he feels more certain of permanence. Eventually, perhaps, he habituates himself to living more apart from organized-social life than does the owner who, because of his capital investment, is likely to be more securely anchored to the locality and, therefore, more interested in its social life." 22/

Families remaining within the community have a pride in the looks of the areas, in keeping things clean and relatively free of weeds. There are some stable communities with tenant-operated farms but in these the landlords have a real interest in their tenants and give them the assurance that they can remain on the farm year after year. In most instances, however, ownership provides this stability to a greater extent than does any other form of tenure arrangement.

Conservation of Resources. Ownership provides the incentive for soil conservation. In many meetings of church leaders which I have attended emphasis has been given to the need of conserving our resources. Studies indicate that generally owner-operators take better care of their soil. Sometimes debt-ridden farmers find it necessary to exploit the land, but owners relatively free of indebtedness and tenants related to the landlord take much better care of the land than those who are farming on a year to year basis. Man's responsibility to the land has been well stated by Mr. Lowdermilk who presented the Eleventh Commandment:

"XI. Thou shalt inherit the holy earth as a faithful steward, conserving its resources and productivity from generation to generation. Thou shalt safeguard thy fields from soil erosion, thy living waters from drying up, thy forests from desolation, and protect thy hills from overgrazing by the herds that thy descendants may have abundance forever. But if thou fail in this stewardship of the land thy fruitful fields shall become sterile stony ground or wasting gullies, and thy descendants shall decrease and live in poverty or perish from off the face of the earth." 23/

The church, with its interest in people and the long-time welfare of the people, must take a responsibility in providing the permanent urgency for continued soil conservation. Mr. Smathers says:

"This concern comes, first of all, out of the insights of our own religious faith that the earth is the Lord's, man His steward, and that faithfulness to this trust is a prerequisite for social and spiritual well-being. It is impossible to separate the land from the people on the land." 24/

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- 2/ J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1940. p. 378.
3/ Walter C. Lowdermilk, "The Eleventh Commandment," The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, New York, No. 74, September 1942, p. 1.
4/ Eugene Smathers, Stewards of the Soil, Big Lick, Tennessee, 1945, p. 11.

It is much easier to advocate stewardship of the land under the system of ownership than under any other type of tenancy that might be suggested.

Incentive for Better Living. Owner-operatorship of a farm provides the means and incentive for better practices. Although owner-operators are usually better farmers than tenants, this is not always the case when additional resources are used to make a more adequate-sized unit, and money goes for equipment instead of lands.

Owner-operators on adequate-sized farms have the incentive to take care of their land, and in general have more livestock, more soil-conserving crops and, over a long period of time, a greater income. Observations and studies show that the homes and living conditions on owner-operated farms are better than on tenant-operated farms. As Brooks Hays puts it,

"The effect of absenteeism is seen in the physical appearance of the farms. Housing and sanitation are seldom up to standards maintained by the resident-owner. The health of the farm workers is a matter of personal rather than economic concern. The landlords who are nearby are the ones who extend the extra-contractual services that tend to alleviate the tenants' condition." 25/

Owner-operators in general are healthier because of better food, clothing, and housing. Those who have ties within the same community have the desire for a better standard of living and an initiative to provide the better things of life. This initiative is necessary if they are to have the sustained effort that is needed in order to acquire it. Houses can be improved on many farms, but farm people must have the desire for them if they are to be realized. Folks who live in a house for only a year or two do not have the incentive to do any improving and consequently it will be rather difficult to develop a program of better housing under any plan other than owner-operatorship. On the whole, farmers who live on their own land tend to have higher levels of living than do those who operate farms under other tenure arrangements.

Summary. The values of rural life which are primary in a nation's life — the home, the land, and the community are ones to be created and conserved. John Ruskin once said, "That is the richest and strongest nation that can point to the largest number of happy and contented farm homes."

Can the Church Strengthen Land Ownership

I hesitate to discuss the role of the church in its relationship to farm ownership but am convinced in my own mind that religion can provide the motivation needed for improved rural life. Church groups, through their religious teachings that the human personality is of supreme value, irrespective of social and economic status, will do much to make for better rural communities.

Church leaders may well refer again to the findings of the Theodore Roosevelt Country Life Commission which reported,

25/ Brooks Hays, "The Christian's Relation to Land," The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 68, January 1942, p. 2.

"Any consideration of the problem of rural life that leaves out of account the function and the possibilities of the church, and of related institutions, would be grossly inadequate. This is not only because in the last analysis the country life problem is a moral problem, or that in the best development of the individual the great motives and results are religious and spiritual, but because from the pure sociological point of view the church is fundamentally a necessary institution in country life. . . . The work and the life of the farm are closely bound together, and the institutions of the country react on that life and on one another more intimately than they do in the city. This gives the rural church a position of peculiar difficulty and one of unequalled opportunity. The time has arrived when the church must take a larger leadership, both as an institution and through its pastors, in the social reorganization of rural life." 26/

The problems of improving farm tenure are many and complex but much can be done to maintain the family-owned farm as the basis upon which American agriculture is organized. One need not be discouraged for, as Henry C. Taylor has said:

"We should not throw up our hands and say 'It can't be done.' Neither should we turn away because we find the farm-tenure problem a problem in political economy rather than a problem in farm management. The solution will not come in a day. The most effective approach is through the education of all the people to an understanding of the essential interrelations in the various occupation, coupled with statesmanship of a new quality to take the place of, or at least hold dominion over, the private interest pressure group system of politics which has too long dominated our national life." 27/

6/ Report of the Commission on Country Life, Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt, New York, Sturgis & Walton Company, 1911, p. 137-38.

7/ Henry C. Taylor, "Land Tenure and the Social Control of the Use of Land," Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Oxford University Press, London, 1939, p. 149.

